

# Detroit Labor Urged To Run Own Slate In City Elections

DETROIT — Following is the text of a talk by Sarah Lovell, socialist candidate for mayor, before units of UAW Ford Local 600 on March 17:

Brother chairman, brothers and sisters:

As a union member, as a socialist, as socialist candidate for mayor, I would like to talk with you about what I think the Detroit labor movement can and should do in this city's 1957 election campaign.

As I see it, you have a choice of doing one of the following three things:

(1.) You can ignore the elections, feel you have no stake in them, do nothing, and let the big businessmen keep the administration of the city in their hands, for their benefit.

(2.) You can sit back and let the top union leaders repeat what they have done in the past—that is, fish around for some self-seeking politicians belonging to the old capitalist parties to put in bids for office, and then endorse them as a so-called "lesser

evil." This also will lead to the administration remaining in the hands of the business interests, to the labor leaders remaining in the position of pleading for favors, and to the workers remaining without any voice in how the city is run. Or,

(3.) You can decide it's time for a change, time for the workers themselves, you and me, to get into politics—not merely as voters, but as an independent force, with a voice in saying what the problems are and how they are to be solved. Time for us to select and elect our own slate, a labor slate, taking the government out of the hands of the old boss parties and into the hands of our own representatives.

It is this third course that I am here to urge you to adopt. I ask you to use your influence in the labor movement to get the CIO and AFL to call a joint con-

ference, with representatives from every local union in Detroit and from other interested organizations, to issue a declaration of independence from the capitalist politicians of all varieties, to adopt a platform that will meet the needs of the people of Detroit, to pick a full labor slate for mayor and common council, a slate that will be responsible to the labor movement and controlled by it, and then go out and conduct a campaign to put them in office.

**COULD WE WIN?**  
Some of you may think, "It's a good idea, but is there time to do it, could we win?" I say yes to all these questions.

The last filing date for petitions is July 27. There is plenty of time to call a united labor conference and start the ball rolling for an independent campaign.

Could we win? The workers of this city are strongly organized. They are the overwhelming majority of the population. Without them, the employers can't produce a single car; without them, the employers' politicians couldn't elect even a dogcatcher.

An independent labor campaign this year would unite, inspire and mobilize the workers of Detroit as never before. It wouldn't be necessary to agitate them to register and vote—the members themselves would be out campaigning energetically to bring in a victory for labor.

But in order to achieve such a victory, we require the kind of program that meets the needs of the working people. A united labor conference would have no difficulty in defining those needs and working out a platform to meet them. In the time I have here, I want to touch on some parts of the platform that I think should be included.

**30-FOR-40**  
First of all, we must remember that despite the so-called national boom, Detroit has almost 100,000 unemployed today. Automation and speed-up in the plants, and then layoffs—that's the trend, and one that will deepen in the next four years.

Chrysler gloats about how it laid off thousands of workers and at the same time increased production and profits. And Mayor Cobo, in his turn, chimes in with attacks on city employees for not being "efficient" enough, that is, he demands speed-up too.

One answer, a correct one, be-

(Continued on page 4)



SARAH LOVELL

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**LETTERS ALIKE**

The Federation of Civic Councils of the Borough of Queens says it is for "natural" but against "forced" integration and has written the Board of Education requesting clarification. Two thousand letters criticizing the integration program ("largely similar," according to the New York Times) have been received by Charles Silver, President of the Board of Education. Ninety percent were from Queens, although Queens has the smallest number of Negro and Puerto Rican children—less than 5%.

These letters, the Times reports, were "apparently stimulated by teacher groups opposing possible transfer of their members," and "right-wing groups also got to work." In the middle of January, Queens residents started receiving "The Ugly Truth," a leaflet reprinting the speech by Attorney General Eugene Cook of Georgia which attacks the N.A.A.C.P. This month Queens civic leaders received a four-page newsletter, "The Red Hand in the New York Schools," which opposes zoning and teacher transfer proposals

and suggests that "leftist groups" are responsible for this program.

"Further fuel," states the Times, "came from reports in national publications." One of these reports, "How New York City Tries To Force Mixed Schools," recently appeared in U.S. News & World Report. It contains four pages of distortions and misrepresentations regarding the New York integration program. "School districts are being gerrymandered," it states, "pupils moved from one school to another. . . . Thousands of children are being compelled to walk farther than before to schools—or ride still farther on buses—in order to achieve what officials call a 'better racial bal-



JOYCE COWLEY, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York.

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XXI - No. 13

267

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, APRIL 1, 1957

PRICE 10c

## Beck Defies Labor-'Probers' By Invoking Fifth Amendment

### British Strikes Spread in Face Of Intervention by Tory Gov't

By Fred Halstead

An estimated 1,200,000 British workers in the shipbuilding and metal fabricating industries are now on strike for a general wage increase. The strikes are a direct challenge to recent attempts of the Conservative government to prop up Britain's declining capitalist economy by lowering the living standards of the workers.

The 200,000 shipyard workers who have tied up their entire industry since March 16 were joined, March 23, by one million engineering (metal fabricating) workers. Both groups are members of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions and each, in separate negotiations, is demanding a 10% wage increase.

### SWP, CP to Debate At Chicago Forum

A debate of unusual interest will take place in Chicago Sunday, April 7, at 3 P.M. when Claude Lightfoot, chairman of the Illinois-Indiana District of the Communist Party and a Smith Act victim, mounts the same platform with Vincent R. Dunne, a well-known leader of the Socialist Workers Party, strike leader, and himself a victim of the Smith Act. The subject for discussion is "Regrouping"—its meaning for the American people, for the civil rights struggle and for labor. Sponsor of the meeting is the Washington Park Forum. The meeting hall is at 777 W. Adams, third floor. Admission is free.

wage increase. An additional 1.5 million members of the engineering section of the Confederation are scheduled to join the strike by April 6 if a settlement is not reached.

The first breakthrough in the present wave of struggles against the government-backed policy of holding the line on wages while living costs spiral came on March 22. A threatened strike by 370,000 members of the National Union of Railwaymen was averted by a settlement including a 5% general wage increase fully retroactive to March 4 and 3% retroactive to last Nov. 26. The railway workers had originally demanded 10% and had threatened to strike when a government tribunal offered 3%.

The railway settlement was expected by Government circles to set a pattern for the other disputes, and according to the March 27 New York Times, both employer and union negotiators in the shipyard strike have agreed on the 5% figure. The union, however, rejects the employer demand that no additional wage demands be made for at least a year.

### PRICES SOAR

The cost of living for British workers has taken a sharp jump upward since the Tory adventure at Suez last November. It is expected to continue its climb as a result of a concerted drive by the Conservative government to insure profits for British capitalists in spite of the shipwreck of British imperialism. This policy is termed "disflation" by Tory Prime Minister Harold Macmillan.

It includes, according to the March 27 Wall Street Journal, reduction of corporate tax rates, tax exemptions for capitalist profits that are reinvested, decontrol of rents resulting in a general rent increase, increases in payments made by workers to the health programs, boosts in the

charges for school lunches, and cuts in welfare benefits for expectant mothers.

These measures have evoked widespread protest, including a "noisy demonstration" outside Macmillan's residence in London March 17 by 5,000 persons protesting the rent bill. In addition, in seven recent by-elections to the House of Commons, the Tories lost one seat to Labor and, according to the WSJ, "suffered mammoth declines in their victory margins" in six other previously "safe" Conservative districts. The Government is charging ahead with its unpopular policy, however. It is not required to call a general election for three more years. The shipbuilding and engineering workers have been forced to fight the Tory Government's disastrous policies with the only weapon left to them—the strike.

## Corpse of Lynch Mob Victim Found in Georgia

By Henry Gitano

The gruesome mob killing of Willie Joe Sandford, 24, a Negro sawmill worker of Cochran, Georgia is once again spotlighting the reign of terror that is Dixie. Sandford disappeared from his home on Feb. 2; his waterlogged body was uncovered March 1 from Limestone Creek, Ga., where it had been wired to the undergrowth. "It was plainly and simply mob violence. Only a frenzied mob could have committed this rape of the law," said Circuit County Judge John K. Whaley.

"I do not believe" said Judge Whaley, "that even the perpetrators of the crime could gloat . . . if they had seen, as I did, a picture of the dead Negro, maltreated, slashed, stabbed, hog-tied with wire, and gutted like an animal."

### LYNCHING RECORD

A year ago, a white man shot Sandford claiming the victim trespassed his yard. An operation was performed to remove the bullet. The white assailant was freed after being held overnight in jail, according to Sheriff Gus Giddens. Hope MacLeod, New

York Post correspondent, reported March 27 that Cochran Negroes "don't talk. They're scared." He quotes an Atlanta Newspaperman: "Negroes down here have been afraid ever since four of them were lynched over in Monroe, Georgia about ten years ago."

Reinforcing murder in the Dixie Terror Belt is a stepped up campaign of legal terrorism. City Judge Ralph E. Parker attempting to take the country back to slavery days, declared the Fourteenth Amendment "null and void. The amendment was passed after the civil war and guarantees civil rights for everyone. Judge Parker on March 21, fined 22 Negroes \$55 each for defying Birmingham's Jim Crow bus seating laws. Parker blustered that the Supreme Court was wrong in declaring bus segregation unconstitutional in the successful Montgomery bus boycott.

On the same day that Parker tried to smash the Negro struggle for equal rights with Southern "justice," Bernard M. Shanley, appointments secretary to Eisenhower, was asked the White House attitude on segregation. He replied that "The Supreme Court's [anti-segregation] decision has done a tremendous amount of damage and has set us back many years." He also

said that in his opinion desegregation would have to come gradually and could not come all at once. Later Shanley tried to modify his frank retorts.

### WHO GAINS?

Elmo Roper and Associates made available the statistics for a pamphlet "FEPC and the Cost of Discrimination." It states that \$30 billion was the actual figure for loss of wages due to discrimination in 1954. It is those who profit to the tune of \$30 billion a year, who are interested in savagely terrorizing Negroes. Answering the white supremacists, the heroic southern Negroes fighting for a life of dignity echo the bus boycotters who said: "When you are choking me, I say to you, turn me loose now, not gradually."

At Alcorn A.M. College for Negroes in Mississippi, the entire student body of 570 walked out in protest against the "Uncle Tom" writings of Prof. Clennon King. They defied an ultimatum to cease the three day boycott and were all expelled on March 9. These students represent the Southern Negro who refuses to accept an inferior position. Better no college at all, they say, than a school based on the perverted theory that the white race is superior.

## Uses Right Under U.S. Constitution

By Myra Tanner Weiss

MARCH 27 — Dave Beck, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, stood on his constitutional rights yesterday by invoking the Fifth and Fourth Amendments and the first three articles of the Constitution when questioned on his manipulations of union finances by the Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field, headed by Senator John L. McClellan, (D-Ark.).

The objective of the Senators in their investigation of labor racketeers was made clear when Senator Pat McNamara (D-Mich.) warned Beck that his answers are "not only reflecting on yourself and your organization, but you are also reflecting on approximately 15,000,000 [labor members]." Thus the road was prepared for legislative punishment—not of Beck, but of the union movement as a whole. (See Editorial, page three.)

McNamara explained that the purpose of the Committee was twofold: "to recommend to the Department of Justice actions where we find illegal acts have been committed; second, and perhaps the most important duty is to recommend legislation to



BECK

correct improper activities in the field of management and labor." Then he ominously warned, "Certainly you are placing the 15,000,000 Americans in some jeopardy when you are inviting, by your conduct in the past, legislation that will curb all of these members."

And again, later in the questioning McNamara asked if Beck was not inviting "legislation that probably will be at least distasteful to the large majority of the 15,000,000 members of organized labor?" None of the Senators indicated in the hearing why the crimes they accused Beck of committing against union members would justify the Senators also passing laws to the detriment of labor.

Senator Irving M. Ives (R-N.Y.) told Beck that some of his constituents had complained that truck drivers "are forced to" join the Teamster's Union when they go into New York City. Beck replied that doctors can't practice in hospitals unless they belong to the American Medical Association and that attorneys can't practice law unless they pay dues to the bar associations.

Ives retorted, "May I point out one thing in that connection? Two wrongs do not make a right."

Beck answered, "No, but there should be an investigation of both of the others, if the investigation is based on that allegation." Beck might have asked Senator Ives if the kind of legislation the Senators had in mind could be the passage of

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## Dulles' Role in Starting Mideast Crisis

The U.S. State Department and John Foster Dulles, with malice aforethought, precipitated the present Mideast crisis. C. D. Jackson, Editorial Vice-President of Time Magazine, let this big cat out of the bag in a speech at the Toronto Advertising and Sales Club on March 12.

For the account which follows, we are indebted to the March 24 Worker, which obtained the report of Jackson's speech from the Toronto Globe and Mail. Jackson told the Ad Club that "U.S. policy for dealing with Communist expansion deliberately touched off the Middle East crisis." He told how he was present at a luncheon last July attended by John Foster Dulles immediately after the U.S. had withdrawn the \$1 billion aid promised to Egypt for building the Aswan Dam. According to Jackson, Dulles not only knew then that this would provoke a crisis, but even speculated that Egypt might seize the Suez Canal as a possible retaliation. Jackson made it clear that he

was all in favor of Dulles' action, and spoke in the spirit of one telling impressive stories about still smarter operators than himself. "The Middle East is going through a tremendous crisis now," he said. "We can come out of it in a big way."

### THREE CONDITIONS

The well-informed Mr. Jackson explained that as of last spring and summer, "Russia's shift in its war policy to an economic offensive set up a climate of blackmail which the West found difficult to combat." He then stated that the U.S. looked for a favorable position for a showdown, and had planned its policy on the basis of three special conditions. According to the Toronto Globe and Mail reporter, Jackson defined them as follows: "The area involved must be within the Communist orbit, a very large amount of money must be involved, and such an area must be able to 'get mad' at the U.S. and be left to rely on Russian promises. All three elements were found in the position where the U.S. pledged

to financially assist the construction of Egypt's Aswan high-level dam."

As is known, Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal, when the U.S. Aswan-Dam pledge was broken. This brought on a full-scale crisis which reached its climax in the British-French-Israeli attack on Egypt last fall. This then led to moves by the Eisenhower Administration to definitely replace British imperialism as the dominant power in the Mideast.

It is easy to see why Jackson's speech has inflamed the British and French capitalists. Dulles showed disregard of their imperialist interests in the Mideast. The real victims of the Dulles policy, however, are the Arab masses seeking national independence from all imperialists, French, British and American. It is because they dared get aid for their struggle from the Soviet government that Dulles precipitated the international crisis.

While Eisenhower himself nervously dismissed the whole business as mere "speculation"

on Jackson's part, Senator Lyndon Johnson (D-Tex.), Senate majority leader, said, "this speculation is by an informed expert who has served the present administration in precisely this particular field." Jackson served as special assistant to Eisenhower in 1953-1954 on the cold war "psychological front," with a special interest in North Africa.

### JACKSON 'RETRACTS'

According to the Worker, Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) was even more troubled. He asserted, "if it is true, then the administration should be called to account and if it is untrue, the President of the U.S. ought to say so, so that our friends and neighbors around the world will know what is going on."

Finally, Jackson himself was called before the Senate subcommittee on Mideast affairs last week. He tried to weasel out of what he had said, but too many Toronto reporters had heard his speech for his retraction to carry any weight.

## Campaigners for Socialism



ERROLL BANKS, SWP-sponsored candidate for Mayor of Los Angeles. (See story, page 3.)



## Salsberg Hits Kremlin on Jews

By Harry Ring

Why were Jewish cultural institutions wiped out and leading literary figures exterminated by the Soviet government? Why does the government insist that the Soviet Jews have been "assimilated" and therefore no longer require the rights of a national minority? These and other related questions are today troubling many Communist Party members everywhere. The most prominent figure to articulate these questions has been J. B. Salsberg, one of the leaders of the Canadian Labor-Progressive (Communist) Party.

Salsberg visited the USSR in 1955 and 1956 to obtain information on the present state of the Soviet Jews. His findings are published in the February issue of the magazine *Jewish Life*, a U.S. publication generally associated with the views of the Communist Party.

### SALSBERG KNEW IN '48

For Salsberg, the shocking post-20th Congress reports of Soviet anti-Semitism did not come as a revelation. Back in 1948 Salsberg came into collision with the leadership of the Canadian CP after he proposed that the party make official inquiry into the liquidation of the leaders of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee.

Although Salsberg remained publicly silent on this burning issue during the years of his fall from official grace, his recent interview with Khrushchev apparently decided him on the need to speak out, and he does so in fairly blunt and direct language.

He confirms the charge that violations of the rights of Soviet Jews did not begin as now contended, in 1948. Salsberg writes: "As long ago as the late thirties I became worried about several developments in Jewish social and cultural life in the USSR. . . . It was clear that some kind of evil blight had descended and was devastating Jewish cultural achievements. . . . The problem of Jewish cultural activity in the Soviet Union did not start in 1948. . . . It started way back in 1934-35."

### A BRUTAL ACT

Salsberg reports that he discussed the entire problem with Dmitroff (a leading figure in the Communist International) in 1939, but with the outbreak of the war he felt he should not pursue the issue. In the recent period the issue became too burning, and he decided to speak out. He reports his efforts in 1955 to secure an explanation from Soviet officials. In the discussion "An effort was made to convince me that there really existed no Jewish question in the USSR" and that the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee had been dissolved merely because its wartime function had ended.

From the discussions, Salsberg says, "It became clear to me that the sudden closing of Jewish institutions was—as I had suspected all along—a brutal act of

violence. The explanation that 'integration' (Russification) was responsible for the cessation of all Jewish social and cultural activity was thoroughly false."

During his 1956 visit, Salsberg tried to find out why the government refused to issue a public statement about the 1948-49 purge of Jewish intellectuals. He reports: "The answer to our request for a public explanation was that in their opinion it was neither necessary or well-advised. Not necessary because the wrongs were being corrected and actions speak for themselves. And not well-advised because such a statement would create much dissatisfaction. Other peoples and republics who also suffered from Beria's onslaught on their culture and artists would wonder why a statement only about Jews."

### 'COMRADELY ADVICE'

It was at this time that Khrushchev expressed his odious anti-Jewish views to Salsberg, telling him that Jews did not clean their streets and that wherever they settled they built synagogues. In closing the discussion, Salsberg reports, "Khrushchev advised me in a comradely way not to allow myself to become saddled by the bourgeoisie and the Zionists."

Salsberg arrives at two important conclusions. First, he recognizes that the anti-Jewish drive was part of the repressions against all national minorities. He writes: "With the consolidation of the Stalin regime there began, in addition to other manifestations of lawlessness, an assault on the rights of the various peoples inhabiting the USSR. Under the cloak of combatting 'bourgeois nationalism' there were cruelly liquidated the most devoted revolutionary leaders of the Ukraine, Georgia and other nationalities."

Secondly, Salsberg correctly observes that "The Jewish question is part of the general question of Socialist democracy in the Soviet Union. A general conclusion to which I have come is that the rise and fall of Jewish cultural and communal life coincides with the rise and fall of democracy. . . . In the USSR, a graph showing the level of Jewish cultural activity and Soviet democracy would indicate a striking parallel development."

But what to do? Salsberg's basic proposal is: "We should carry on a stubborn but friendly ideological and political struggle to influence the Soviet leaders to radically change their present approach to the national question, and especially to the Jewish question in the Soviet Union."

We will discuss whether this is an adequate program in another article.

# Fryer's Appeal on Ouster by CP

HUNGARY AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY: An Appeal Against Expulsion. By Peter Fryer. London, 1957, 48 pp., 25 cents (obtainable through Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N.Y. 3, N.Y.)

This excellent pamphlet is Peter Fryer's appeal against his expulsion from the Communist Party of Great Britain and a review of the course of events in Hungary up to the date of the pamphlet's publication (February 1957).

When the London Daily Worker sent Fryer to Budapest to cover the Hungarian Revolution, it made the following announcement to its readers: "The Daily Worker is interested only in facts. To improve our news-service from this vital center we have sent Peter Fryer to Hungary. Daily Worker readers know Fryer's reputation as an experienced and skilled reporter. No one is better qualified for such an assignment."

### WOULD NOT BE SILENT

To the consternation of the Daily Worker editor, Fryer proved true to the description given of him. Rather than print his dispatches about the revolution in Hungary, the Daily Worker first censored and then suppressed them.

Upon his return to England, Fryer refused either to be gagged or to recant. Motivated by Marxist principle and respect for the sincerity of his party comrades, he did not quit the Communist Party but endeavored to lay bare what he had seen in Hungary. To this attempt by a member to rescue his party from a disastrous position, the British CP leaders responded with the weapons of the bureaucratic arsenal—suspension, expulsion and smear campaign. Since Fryer had violated no party rule or regulation he was suspended under a party statute for summary dealing with police spies, the action being taken without consultation with his party branch or area committee.

Simultaneously the British CP heads launched a campaign to discredit him and his writings. He has been politically slandered, his competence as a journalist ridiculed, his conduct in Hungary maliciously fictionalized, his writings and statements distorted and misquoted.

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But Fryer has not been nauseated out of the fight within the Communist Party by the conduct of its Stalinist leaders. He refuses to get out or to abstain. He has confidence in the honesty of the rank and file, and is determined to tell them what really happened in Hungary. For this reason he is availing himself of the right to appeal his expulsion to the convention of the Communist Party scheduled for Easter—and hence this pamphlet.

But let Fryer state his own case:

"So it is in no spirit of repentance that I am using my right to appeal against expulsion. If I have any apologies they are to the Hungarian workers and to the rank and file of the British Communist Party that I have not yet fought as hard as I ought against the most outrageous and wicked lies with which Stalinism cloaks the rape of Hungary. No one who has ordinary human feelings and who knows from personal experience and personal observation that these are lies could possibly remain silent."

### CAN'T STAND ASIDE

"No one whose whole adult life has been inspired by the great epics of working-class struggle—the Paris Commune, the October Revolution in Russia, the General Strike in Britain, the Spanish Civil War—and who has participated as a revolutionary journalist in many recent working-class movements, large and small, in Britain and France, could possibly stand aside from the courageous struggle of the Hungarian working class for democracy, national independence and human dignity. The efforts that the British Stalinists are making to smear this struggle as fascist-inspired, fascist-led 'counter-revolution' are an indecency which, if not frustrated by us Communists ourselves, is bound to discredit

## Kremlin Tanks in Budapest



Hungarian workers inspect two artillery guns which they knocked out of action in the days following the Oct. 29 uprising. Peter Fryer reported how, despite overwhelming military odds, the Hungarian working class provided amazing resistance in their struggle for national independence and socialist democracy. But the London Daily Worker's editor suppressed his dispatches.

the British Communist Party for ever in the eyes of the workers whose respect and support it seeks to win.

"I felt it my duty therefore to do what little I as an individual could to save the honor of the Party I belonged to by saying publicly: 'I was there, and I can testify that it was not a counter-revolution but a national uprising against unspeakable tyranny, an uprising in which the Hungarian workers played the foremost part.' If I had failed to speak out in this way I should have been guilty of a pretty unpleasant betrayal of the socialist principles that had guided my conduct for 14 years."

"... The decision to silence me if possible, above all to prevent my addressing any meetings upon my return. . . . was an interference with the liberty of a Communist Party member to bring before his fellow-members indispensable information that was being withheld from them by their leaders."

"... It seems to me that the present battle inside the Party is fundamentally a philosophical battle, a battle for materialism against idealism. Engels advised us to cast aside all fancies and fantasies and preconceptions that are found when tested in practice to give an incorrect or insufficient reflection of reality. This

basic requirement of a dialectical materialist theory of knowledge is to say the least neglected by the present leaders of the Communist Party. If they were materialists they would elaborate their ideas and policies on the basis of a close, detailed, systematic, many-sided, concrete study investigation and analysis of phenomena. If facts did not fit their ideas and policies, then the ideas and policies would have to be modified or scrapped. For materialism is the enemy of dogmatism and self-deception. It may be painful to be a materialist, but the working-class movement has little chance of making real advances unless its leaders are prepared to look the world in the face and fashion their policies accordingly."

"But the leaders of the Communist Party at any rate act as if they were philosophical idealists. They do not even start out from their own preconceived ideas, but from the ideas and preconceptions and policies of somebody else—of whoever happens to be winning, or to have won, in the top leadership of the Soviet Communist Party."

### NEW SHOCKS AHEAD

"... It does not need a deep study of events in Eastern Europe to form the impression that further shocks, fresh Poland and Hungary, are on the way. . . . Indeed within the Soviet Union itself. . . . Will it be lies or truth next time? . . ."

"Sooner or later the crisis in the Party will evolve to the point where the majority of the members will realize that you cannot serve a good cause with lies; that you cannot fight one form of tyranny by pretending that another kind of tyranny does not exist. . . . All over the world the common people, because of their very position in society, are hungry and thirsty for righteousness and for truth. They include the members of the British Communist Party."

### WHAT WE JOINED FOR

"Many of us have had enough. We are not going to be accomplices any longer. We joined the Party to help emancipate mankind, not only from exploitation,

but from its concomitant as long as class society exists: ignorance. We joined because we wanted to help bring the light of science and humanism into the darkness of men's minds, to end forever the deception of our fellow-men. . . . with which class society veils its true nature and its crippling and stunting of people. We joined because we wanted to contribute to the enlightenment of our fellow-men, to bring them the richest and most precious of all gifts: the truth. The truth about human society and their place in it, and what they themselves can do, together, to leap from the kingdom of necessity into the kingdom of freedom."

"I ask the leaders of the Communist Party: do you think we are going to turn our backs on truth and freedom? . . . We shall continue to fight for the truth, and we shall in the future exercise the same intellectual honesty and integrity that brought us into the Party by making up our own minds as to what the truth is. . . . Then we shall have a genuine Communist Party, worthy to lead the British people forward to socialism."

### SUPPLEMENTS BOOK

From the above the American reader can see that Fryer's appeal is not only a moving and crucial document on the British Communist Party but has immediate bearing on the very problems that U.S. Communist Party members and sympathizers are now trying to resolve. For all such the reading of Fryer's document is a moral obligation.

This review has treated only with one half of Fryer's pamphlet—that part dealing with the British Communist Party. The remainder is an outline and analysis of the Hungarian Revolution. It is a valuable supplement to his eyewitness book, *Hungarian Tragedy* (reviewed in the March 18 Militant), since it covers events that have transpired since *Hungarian Tragedy* was written. Excerpts from it will be carried in next week's Militant.

—George Lavan

## CP Explains Move to Oust Gates

By Herman Chauka

After a week of public silence, the National Administrative Committee of the Communist Party issued a statement, March 22, relating to the unsuccessful attempt in the committee on March 14 to remove John Gates as editor of the Daily Worker. The story of the meeting where the ouster motion was defeated had been leaked to the New York Post.

At the March 14 meeting the Foster and Dennis wings of the committee joined in an attack on Gates and his associates for a "soft" handling of Howard Fast and others who have broken with the CP. However Dennis and James Jackson did not go along with the motion to remove Gates. The present statement of the committee is a continuation of the criticism of the Gates group, declaring the "need to systematically engage in principled though friendly polemics on the various theoretical and policy differences that exist between the party and the many socialist oriented individuals and groups with whom the party is developing contact and united front relations, as well as the need to wage a sharper ideological struggle against the anti-Marxist views of certain prominent ex-Communists who have recently resigned from the Party."

The statement declares that in this connection "a preliminary and critical examination was made of the role of several Marxist publications." Both the Daily Worker and the magazine Mainstream had been hit for giving extensive space to Fast for the elaboration of his present views.

Flowing from the discussion, the resolution states, was "a motion requesting John Gates to resign as editor of the Daily Worker." The motion was defeated because "in the opinion of the majority of the NAC these related matters can be properly acted upon only by the full National Committee which is now in the process of being elected."

The statement announces that the committee is "looking into" the question of the "leaked" story to the Post and condemns the unknown person responsible for it.

## Gomulka Moves Against Leftist Forces in Poland

By George Lavan

Since the Polish elections, the Gomulka regime has made a drastic swing to the right. Between Poland's October revolution and the Jan. 20 elections Gomulka pretended an even-handed restraining of "extremist" elements on both the left (the revolutionists) and the right (the Stalinists) in order to maintain the gains already achieved and yet not provoke the Kremlin into a military invasion. It is now clear that this was but the soft opening of the present campaign solely against the left, that is, solely against very elements that brought Gomulka to power and backed him up against the Soviet rulers.

This left wing was led by a vanguard of the workers, particularly those from the Zeran auto and the WFM motorcycle factories in Warsaw, and by a movement of intellectuals and students. The intellectuals by virtue of their positions and control of a number of newspapers and magazines rapidly became nationally, and even internationally, known figures. They are, however, much more vulnerable than the workers' leaders who are now based on workers councils in the factories.

While Gomulka's official policy still pretends to be a campaign both against the "revisionists" (the left) and the "conservatives" (the Stalinists, who back in October were known as "reactionaries"), his blows have been exclusively against the left, and not only do the Stalinists remain undisturbed but many deposed during and shortly after

October have been restored to office.

On Feb. 27, Gomulka personally steamrollered through the reappointment as Deputy Premier of Zenon Nowak, one of the leaders of the top Stalinist clique. For months the country had been led to believe that Nowak, notorious for his use of anti-Semitism, would be kicked out. Also restored by Gomulka is Wiktor Klosiewicz, former head of the labor federation. Last November the workers exposed his record and his many salaries, and deposed him as Poland's prime example of the Stalinist labor faker. Gomulka has now made him Deputy Minister of Labor and Social Welfare.

A blow to the "men of October" was Gomulka's approval of the removal of Vincent Staszewski, first secretary of the Communist Party in Warsaw. Staszewski was the organizer of student and worker "bread and freedom" demonstrations last October which preceded Gomulka's release from detention and rise to power.

In a drive against those sections of the press which mobilized public support for the October movement, Gomulka fired Wladyslaw Matwin, editor of Trybuna Ludu, the main party newspaper, and ordered him transferred from Warsaw to the provincial city of Wroclaw. The firing of Matwin brought mass resignations of protest by the paper's staff. Particular target for denunciation by the Natolin clique and by those Stalinists who jumped on Gomulka's bandwagon at the last minute, is the

militant paper Po Prostu (Plain Talk) which during and since October was the mobilizer and spokesman of the revolutionary youth.

After October the youth, following the example of the workers who were kicking out the labor fakers, junked the official youth organization, the Union of Polish Youth, simply by withdrawing from it. Throughout the country young workers, soldiers and students formed youth "councils and parliaments" without asking anyone's permission. In December these dispersed local organizations sent over 2,000 delegates to a youth Congress in Warsaw called by Po Prostu, again without government sanction.

The Congress formed the Union of Revolutionary Youth whose program declared: "Struggle against Stalinism and all the conservative forces, against bourgeois reaction and against anarchy, struggle for socialism and democratization of life in Poland and reinforcement of the people's government and revolutionary legality [civil liberties]."

The desertion of the old Stalinist youth organization was so complete that it could not be resurrected by the Gomulka government. So a new youth organization, was set up by the Stalinists. Called the Union of Worker Youth, it engaged in demagogic "proletarian" propaganda that it would not allow any students to join it. In a pretended even-handed approach, Gomulka brought about a merger of the two organizations into a new Union of Polish Socialist Youth. The result is the frustrating of a genuinely independent and revolutionary youth movement.

Apparently the result of the merger has been to demoralize the rank and file. On March 23 Jerzy Morawski of Gomulka's politburo gave the central committee of the new youth organization a dressing down for its failure to hold its membership. The next day Pravda in Moscow attacked Polish youth for being nihilistic and anarchistic, for their destruction of the pre-October youth organization and the subsequent formation of new youth organizations "like mushrooms after the rain." Pravda declared that Polish youth were as yet not satisfactorily organized and warned against the Polish youth's "propensity towards meetings and discussions instead of concrete practical work."

## FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
CLEVELAND	\$ 420.00	\$ 420.00	100
YOUNGSTOWN	300.00	300.00	100
Buffalo	2100.00	1900.00	91
Allentown	102.00	88.00	86
Chicago	1560.00	1175.00	75
Twin Cities	1584.00	1166.30	74
Detroit	1000.00	738.00	74
Newark	240.00	170.00	71
Milwaukee	250.00	173.00	69
Boston	600.00	400.00	67
New York	5000.00	3051.10	61
Los Angeles	4000.00	2034.50	51
St. Louis	80.00	40.00	50
Philadelphia	480.00	224.50	47
Akron	140.00	55.00	40
Seattle	360.00	144.00	40
Oakland	240.00	89.00	37
San Francisco	800.00	128.00	16
General	—	105.60	—
Totals through March 27	\$19256.00	\$12402.00	64

## 'Quotas Will Be Filled' — Branch Fund Directors

By Constance Farr  
Party-Building Fund Director

Two branches of the Socialist Workers Party have gone over the top in the Party-Building Fund campaign. Cleveland, having fulfilled its \$420 pledge, has voluntarily increased its quota to \$600 to be paid before the April 15 deadline. Youngstown has completed its \$300 quota just in time, for cutbacks are expected in this steel city.

Since our last scoreboard, Chicago has moved up from tenth to fifth place. Fund Director Ray Follett writes: "We have numerous instances of self-sacrifice by our people to help meet the quota. One comrade has just gone through a serious operation, which kept her in the hospital for five weeks to convalesce; she is going back next week for further surgery. She telephoned me to come pick up her \$50 pledge which she had been saving and wanted to be sure to turn in despite her difficulties. Friends and sympathizers of our branch have contributed over \$30 and have pledged more."

Jim Franklin of Boston is optimistic about the outcome of the campaign. "The response to this fund drive," he writes, "has been the best in the last number of campaigns. The comrades realize its importance more than ever before. This is the first time that I could write with assurance that Boston will meet its responsibility and on time. Always previous to this drive, black clouds seemed to hover over us, some unforeseen thing would happen to us."

Ann Dorsey of Seattle has a suggestion of a way to make money. "If the branches happen to have a lot of extra books in their libraries, they might auction them off at a social."

In spite of the good showing of some of the branches at the top of the scoreboard, the overall average of 64% is lagging behind the 80% which should be in by this date. There are three weeks to go — three weeks in which to make this up so that we can finish by April 15 IN FULL AND ON TIME.

## April Selection Book-A-Month Offer

LABOR: FREE AND SLAVE, Workingmen and the Anti-Slavery Movement in the United States. By Bernard Mandel. New York, Associated Authors, 1955, 256 pp. (Original price \$3, Book-a-month price \$1.00 plus 15 cents mailing charge).

As part of its observance of Negro History Week, the Militant in 1956 carried a laudatory review of this important book. Now that it is available at the special Book-A-Month price, it is hoped that even more workers will become acquainted with it.

Mandel has done a great amount of original research and filled what has long been a serious gap in American history. This gap was knowledge of the exact relationship of the white working-class as a whole and of the conscious working-class movement toward the Abolitionist and anti-slavery movement in the decades preceding and during the Civil War.

### HOW LABOR LINED UP

The working-class is the great emancipating class in history. Why then did it not lead the anti-slavery struggle? As Marx had pointed out, "Labor with a white skin can never be free while Labor with a black skin is branded." Wouldn't it follow then that simply out of self-interest the white workers would join and support the abolitionists?

Mandel shows how some sections and leaders of the white workers saw that their long-range interests lay in the destruction of slavery and acted accordingly, while others, short-sightedly and

opportunistically opposed the anti-slavery movement because they feared the competition of liberated Negro labor and preferred a political alliance with the Southern planters against the Northern capitalists.

More than that, he shows the evolution of working-class opinion under the impact of events and Northern role in the Civil War. This includes such contradictory class outbursts as the New York draft riots which were a combination of a general strike and an anti-Negro race riot.

Finally, there is a chapter devoted to the hitherto unclear post-war period in which the National Labor Union tried to organize Negro and white workers into the same unions. This issue of such importance to labor's future was not resolved then and a compromise—the National Colored Labor Union was set up. Indeed this division remained one of the greatest obstacles to progress in America to our day. A good start to its solution was made by the CIO in the 1930's, but much remains to be done in the North, and it remains the number one cause of the weak state of unionism in the South.

This book will arm the readers with facts and lessons of great use in the battle against color discrimination and wage slavery.

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# THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interest of the Working People  
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION  
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 6-7468  
Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS  
Business Manager: FRANCES JAMES

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.  
"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. XXI - No. 13

Monday, April 1, 1957

## Beck Is Not the Target

Let there be no mistake about this. We are and always have been unalterably opposed to racketeering in the labor movement. The very notion that unions should be free of the greed, the chiseling, the dictatorial procedures that permeate every institution of capitalist society was born in the radical movement of the working class. The IWW, the socialists and communists, all who toiled, and those who gave their lives to bring the labor movement into existence, did so for love of their fellow-men, not for money. In its origins and in its historic significance, the labor movement is the negation of the capitalist code of self-enrichment at the expense of others.

For the Teamsters union we want nothing more than that Beck should be kicked out of his posts with dispatch—but we want this done only by the rank and file of the Teamsters union. When the capitalist press and the capitalist politicians—so short a time ago on such friendly terms with this "labor boss"—want to clean the house of the labor movement, they want to clean it out of existence. It's the labor movement they hate, not Dave Beck.

### FAKE MORAL OUTRAGE

Why is the Senate suddenly "morally" outraged at the fact that Beck allegedly "borrowed" several hundred thousand dollars out of the union till? Do their hands not dip frequently into the U.S. Treasury—to mention one item, for "investigating" trips all over the world. Do they not take pay-offs in the form of campaign expenses from industrialists? Do they not know how industry habitually dips into the U.S. Treasury by checking off for tax purposes as business expense Cadillac, yachts, forests to hunt in, swimming pools, etc., all very legally of course—the capitalist politicians see to that in constructing the tax laws?

And why is Meany so outraged? Surely he has not been ignorant all these years of the fortune his close associate has been amassing as a "labor czar." Why did Meany choose the very moment that Beck used his constitutional right under the Fifth Amendment to call an "emergency" session of the AFL-CIO Council? Meany is scared of the build-up for the biggest anti-union campaign since passage of the Taft-Hartley law. Instead of fighting this attack, he quivers with fear, sputtering: see how outraged we are with this corruption; most of us are rich, but we are honest; we'll help you against the crooks!

### OUR PREVIOUS WARNING

But timorous pleas won't help. Congress, representing the biggest "racketeers"—the Big Business crowd that owns and runs the country—first hauled "Communists" before it for "investigation." When there's no evidence of crimes committed and the police therefore can't be used, congressional hearings are held to smear organizations and isolate them for persecution. At that time we warned: "This is just the beginning. The ultimate target is the entire labor movement."

It was just the beginning. Now Congress is after the Teamsters union. Will Meany engage in expulsions and thus divide the labor movement further? Can't these labor bureaucrats who boast of being "clean" see what the Big Business scheme is?

The Wall Street Journal makes it clear enough. It opened its account of the Beck hearing with the observation, "Dis-

closures of union corruption are unloosing broad legislative demands to curb labor's power." (Big Business is making the demands.) The Christian Science Monitor begins its report with the observation that the Senate hearings "seem more likely to result in restrictive trade-union legislation than anything that has happened in the United States labor movement in the past ten years."

### TOP UNION OFFICIALS BLIND

The senators "investigating" Beck made no bone that they were out for the scalp of the whole labor movement. Thus Sen. McNamara (D-Mich.) told Beck, "Certainly you are placing the 15,000,000 Americans in some jeopardy when you are inviting, by your conduct in the past, legislation that will curb all of these members." (See story, page one.)

Everyone is onto the game except—the labor bureaucrats, the very ones who are supposed to defend the unions against such attacks. Murray Kempton, New York Post reporter, visited the AFL-CIO offices in Washington for a talk with William F. Schnitzler, Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO. Kempton suggested that "the sins of labor leaders were as nothing beside the sins of corporations." Schnitzler answered, "I don't give a damn what a corporation does. That doesn't justify a union representative taking a 3-cent stamp."

But that is not the issue. Big thieves don't fall out with little thieves in order to stop the ancient art of thievery. Schnitzler supports the Senate investigation even as he told Kempton, "It means an end to organizing." The first product of the "investigation" is to cripple in infancy the drive to organize Southern workers and white-collar workers.

The biggest evil in the labor movement today is the policy of class collaboration (co-operation with management) that is pursued by all the top labor officials, "clean" or not. It is precisely this policy, encouraged by Big Business and the Senators, that provides the ground for corruption. The employers don't "get along" with unions that fight for the interests of their members. Those bureaucrats who want nothing more than to "do business" with the boss start making deals at the expense of the workers whether or not they get a kick-back for their "consideration."

### MCCARTHY TOO

Is anyone so naive as to think the Senators are going to restore a policy of class struggle to the labor movement? That's the last thing they want. What they're after is to make it more difficult to struggle when the workers start to move again for their rights.

And finally, isn't there something monstrously obscene about Senator Joseph McCarthy, with all his shady financial dealings, grilling Dave Beck about shady deals? Doesn't it give the whole game away—a shell game in which the Senators slip in some more anti-labor legislation, like the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Act, while people are staring with fascination at Senatorial "indignation" at corruption?

If the Senators really want to clean this country of corruption, let them start at the top and work their way down. That would keep them busy for a couple of centuries and long before they finished the workers would have settled accounts with the labor czars.

# Howard Fast and Stalinism

By Murry Weiss

When Khrushchev's "secret" report to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was published early last June, Howard Fast, the well-known novelist who was then writing a column for the Daily Worker, voiced an anguished cry of despair and protest in an article entitled "Man's Hope." This article, published in the June 12 Daily Worker, detailed his personal reaction to the ghastly revelations of Khrushchev; in his concluding sentences Fast said:

"... if Russia has in me a friend, it also has a severe and implacable critic. Never again will I remain silent when I can recognize injustice—regardless of how that injustice may be wrapped in the dirty linen of expediency or necessity. Never again will I fail to question, to demand proof. Never again will I accept the 'clever' rationale, which appears to make sense but under scrutiny does not."

STILL FOR SOCIALISM  
In this same article, Fast, as if in anticipation of the inevitable attack from Stalinist diatribes, reiterates his dedication to socialism, his belief that the Soviet Union is a "socialist land" with many progressive achievements and his opposition to the "fools and scoundrels (who) use the madness and wickedness of a handful of Soviet leaders as an excuse to preach the destruction of the socialist part of the world."

Shortly after the appearance of this article, Fast stopped writing for the Daily Worker; rumors circulated as to what had happened to him but nothing conclusive became known until on Feb. 1 the New York Times published an interview in which Fast announced his resignation from the Com-



HOWARD FAST

munist Party. In the March issue of Mainstream, a cultural magazine close to the CP, Fast, on the invitation of the editors, explains the reasons for his decision "in terms of communism and morality." The editors reply in a lengthy comment.

It is apparent from his Mainstream article that Fast has not altered his basic viewpoint during the months of silence which for him must have been filled with a painful inner struggle to decide what course to take.

### A PROTEST

As for his decision to quit the Communist Party he advances two reasons: "Firstly, as the only extreme protest against the course of events in the communist world that I saw as being meaningful and purposeful; and secondly, because I feel that the Communist Party of the United States—mostly through events beyond its control—is compromised to a point where it can no

longer make any effective contribution to the continuing struggle for democracy and social justice."

As in his June 12 article in the Daily Worker, Fast again emphasizes that his opposition to the crimes of the bureaucratic clique ruling the Soviet Union in no way induces him to see any virtues in American or world capitalism. He goes further and declares where he stands on the revolutionary uprisings in the Soviet orbit:

"But within the Soviet Union, an increasing contradiction between Communist Party leadership and practice and evolving socialist society exists; and in good time this contradiction will become intolerable to the Soviet people."

"Where then does the duty of the man of good will, the progressive, the socialist, the communist lie? I answer this question only for myself. I say that it lies with socialism, with the ancient and enduring dream of brotherhood, with the Soviet people, who twice created out of ruins the fabric and potential of a good society, with the Poles, who so gallantly went their own way toward democratic socialism."

"I say that it does not lie with the pretentious dogmatism of Soviet leadership, indicted not only for their acquiescence in the crimes of Stalin, but for their continuing record of intolerance and dogmatic bossism since the exposure of those crimes."

### REJECTS OFFICIAL STAND

Fast does not accept in any way the official Stalinist explanation for the crimes revealed in the Khrushchev report:

"I also experienced for the first time [after reading the 'secret' report] the limitations of the man, Khrushchev, not only in his describing the hell he pictured as

the work of one man, but in the cynicism of his definition and explanation of this as 'the cult of the individual'—an explanation not only empty, but almost facetious in its unrelatedness to the events it describes."

Fast's explanation of the phenomena of Stalinism seems to be developing along two main lines:

(1) There is something in the very structure and historical development of Communist parties which lead them to fall prey to a "tragic contradiction." In order to carry out their mission of opposing fascism and colonial oppression, etc., they require discipline. Programmatically they are for freedom. But "in other circumstances," presumably when they are in power, or under the influence of those in power, "their very structure denies freedom within itself; against oppression, their very structure oppresses within itself; and conceived as a liberating force, the monolithic power structure chokes both the democratic process and the liberating thought. Their historical development has been toward an ever increasing and ever more rigid bureaucracy—and this very process nurtures an egotistic and dehumanized stratum of leadership, which is perpetuated to a point where the threat of recall must be seen by leadership as a threat to the existence of the organization. The rationale of those in power can then turn into paranoid hatred and corroding suspicion."

(2) The Soviet Union is a socialist society in its economic and social structure. But instead of achieving a higher degree of democracy than capitalism, the most elementary democratic rights established by the bourgeois revolution have been denied. Fast obviously considers this question to be related to the previous point—the seeds of despotism inherent in the very structure of Communist parties. He counterposes to "socialism without liberty" and the contradictory character of the Communist parties an ethical structure which he appears to be proposing as an indispensable ingredient of socialist doctrine.

Fast's views deal with fundamental problems confronting the revolutionary socialist movement today. It is vital to discuss the questions he raises with the utmost objectivity and thoroughness if theory is to play its crucial role in the liberation of the working class. There are a number of points that immediately suggest themselves as an agenda for such a discussion. First, there is the contradiction Fast calls attention to between the CP leadership in the Soviet Union and "evolving socialist society." Is he correct in ascribing the contradiction to something basically wrong in the very structure of the Communist parties. Earlier discussions in

the socialist movement over whether Stalinism is the logical outcome of Lenin's conception of the role and structure of the revolutionary party may cast light on the kind of thinking Fast expresses today.

### DEFINITION OF SOCIALISM

Second, there is the question of whether or not it is correct, in any scientific socialist sense of the term, to describe Soviet society as "socialism." This is a particularly important question since so many times in the past, those awakening to the crimes of Stalinism, and confounding these crimes with the "inherent nature" of a socialist society, have declared: "If this is socialism, then I am for capitalist democracy."

Third, there is the question of the views of Marxism on such abstract slogans as "freedom" and "justice," and the relation of socialism to them.

The answer of the Mainstream editors to Fast should also be examined. All they can counterpose to Fast's arguments are the sophisticated apologies for Stalinism and Stalin's heirs that are to be found in the books of Isaac Deutscher. These are all to the effect that the bureaucratic dictatorship will reform itself in the direction of socialist democracy.

Finally, there is the question of Fast's conduct and method as a revolutionary intellectual who has the responsibility to help Communist workers solve the terrible problems and dilemmas that they, as well as Fast, are beset with.

(First of a series)

## Charge Mollet Govt. With Using Torture On Algerian People

Criticism continues to mount in France against the reign of terror waged by the French government against the Algerian national independence movement.

In the current debate in the National Assembly, Robert Lacoste, French Minister Residing in Algeria was questioned about the suicide, March 23, of a Moslem lawyer, Ali Boumendjel, who had been arrested as a "rebel suspect." A deputy belonging to the Roman Catholic Popular Republican Group charged that there appeared to exist in Algeria arbitrary detention and, if not torture, "at least exhausting interrogations." He demanded that the government of "Socialist" Premier Mollet put an end to practices that the French resistance movement had fought during the German occupation of France. Lacoste is also a "socialist."

## Banks Calls for Labor Party in L.A. TV Talk

LOS ANGELES, March 24 — "The fountainhead of the problems that face the people of Los Angeles, and all America, is the capitalist system, which places profits above the needs and welfare of the overwhelming majority of the people," declared Errol Banks, socialist candidate for Mayor of Los Angeles in an address last night over KRCA-TV.

Banks, who is running with the endorsement of the Socialist Workers Party, appeared on the TV program to answer questions put by the League of Women Voters. Banks was asked: "What do you believe is Los Angeles' most serious problem? If elected, what would be your proposal for a solution to this problem?"

In reply, Banks detailed the evils of the capitalist system and demonstrated the relevance of this basic issue to the Los Angeles Mayoralty race. He pledged that if elected he would do the following:

"I will use my office to press for a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay and to end the speedup in industry. I will press for a cost-of-living bonus geared to the rising cost of living, unemployment benefits equal to trade union wages, equal pay for women and a minimum wage law based on union scales.

"I will fight with all my power to end segregation and discrimination, to establish equal opportunities in jobs, housing and education for all, reinforced by a Fair Employment Practices ordinance.

"I will strive for the repeal of all so-called 'loyalty' oath legislation, firm in the conviction that no one should be persecuted or denied the right to earn a living because he dares to think, to attend meetings or join organizations of his choice.

"I will oppose open-shop practices and attempt to make Los Angeles a 100% union town, convinced that strong democratic unions are the best possible guarantee against sub-standard wages and working conditions.

"I will immediately set about reinstating the low rent, interracial housing projects which Mayor Poulson killed in his first official act, and initiate scientific planning to coordinate all phases of city life, including transportation, recreation and housing."

In conclusion Banks said that his candidacy should be viewed as a "first step—a step toward the formation of an independent labor party to give political voice to the aspirations and needs of the working people."

## Workers' BOOKSHELF

By Anne Chester  
Manager, Pioneer Publishers

This week Pioneer Publishers is featuring a number of classics by Leon Trotsky of which only a limited number is available. These are:

LESSONS OF OCTOBER. 125 pages, with an introduction and explanatory notes, \$4.00 (cloth only).  
This is Trotsky's concise story of the struggle among the Bolshevik leaders over the organization of the October 1917 revolution. The essay precipitated the bitter fight between the Trotskyists and the Stalin bureaucracy.

THE ONLY ROAD. 93 pages, \$5.00.  
This work was written in 1932

when the most important problem confronting the international working class movement was how to stop Hitler's coming to power in Germany. Trotsky attacks the official CP policy of no united front with the Social Democracy, except "from below," and the labeling of the Social Democrats as "Social Fascists." He counterposes the Leninist conception of the united front to the divisive Stalinist and Social Democratic policies. The book is a must for all students of the struggle against fascism.

WHITHER FRANCE? 160 pages, \$2.50.

Again the study is the working class struggle against Fascism and the road to socialism. The events this time are those in France from 1934-1936. The

revolutionary class-struggle line is counterposed to the Stalinist Popular Front theory and practice and to Social-Democratic reformism.

IN DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION. 40 pages, 75 cents.  
A compilation from 1927 to 1937 of Trotsky's explanation why, despite the crimes of Stalinism, the world working class must defend the Soviet Union from imperialist attack or internal capitalist restoration. The author discusses the class-struggle program for the defense of the Soviet Union and relates the struggles against the Stalinist bureaucracy to it. Introduction by Max Shachtman.

Pioneer Publishers has available at a special price a limited

supply of A HISTORY OF ECONOMIC THEORIES by Karl Marx — \$3.50 instead of the original price of \$5. This is the first part of Vol. IV of Capital, entitled "From the Physiocrats to Adam Smith."

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### BOOKS - PAMPHLETS

On Socialism and the Labor Movement

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Naturally, it was impossible to open the camps and send the inmates to work in the existing factories. These anti-fascist "undesirables" might poison the mind of other workers with their ideas and turn them, too, against the regime. Facilities had to be built right inside the concentration camps. At Auschwitz alone, 10,000 were put to work building the Buna-Leuna works right inside the compound. Forty thousand inmates were then put to work in them.

### SLAVE LABOR

True, working conditions were bad. But then, reasoned Farben executives, concentration camps aren't exactly resort camps. At the Manowice Farben camp, the labor turnover was reported to be 300% a year. In this camp as

many as a hundred a day died from exhaustion. Few lasted over three months. Eight miles away from this camp was the Farben Fuerstengruben (coal mines). Here the murderous speed-up and the general nature of Farben "labor-management" relations led to the intervention of the SS camp guards who had to prevent foremen from beating the workers to death. (This item is taken from the records of the postwar Nuremberg trials.)

But the real innovations, which Farben introduced for its employees were the gas ovens built conveniently close to the Farben compounds at Birkenau. Workers who fell ill and thus could no longer stand the brutal rate of exploitation were gassed and cremated there.

GET RICH AGAIN

When the war ended with Hitler's defeat, Farben directors and board members were tried for war crimes. Twenty-three stood in the dock. Ten of them went scot-free, and the other thirteen received total prison terms of 56 years, of which they served only a fraction. They were released to aid in the democratization of Germany.

The Farben trust was broken up into four large concerns but was able to conserve much of its assets and capitalize on them in the boom of the cold-war period. Despite the loss of its foreign holdings and the confiscation of its properties in East Germany, Farben was financially sound enough to convert its stock at a face-value rate of nine for ten. (That is, for every ten-mark share they held in Farben, stockholders were given a nine-mark share in the four successor concerns.) The new shares have already soared well above face value and are still rising.



# ... Racists Drive On N. Y. Desegregation

(Continued from page 1)  
schools in Negro neighborhoods are running on two or three shifts and schools in white districts have half-empty classrooms. The integration program will not "germ-mander" school districts or "compel . . . thousands of children to walk farther." On the contrary, the plan is to straighten out districts that were gerrymandered in the past in order to keep white schools all-white and Negro schools all-Negro.

There are all inaccuracies in the U.S. News report. For example, it says that the study made by the Board of Education shows that "facilities in the Negro areas are usually older and slightly inferior to those in white areas" and that "levels of educational achievement were much lower in schools that were heavily populated by Negroes and Puerto Ricans. . . . At the eighth grade level, the educational lag was found to be as much as two years." (My italics—the study found that the inferior quality of the schools was the reason for the academic lag of the children. The U.S. News Report implies that it is the Negro and Puerto Rican children who are inferior.)

## ANOTHER MISSTATEMENT

Again, according to the U.S. News: "The zoning report—with its provision for bus transportation—stirred up so much objection in public hearings that its adoption was postponed twice by the Board of Education." Speakers from leading civic, labor, religious and parent organizations all supported the proposals, and the only opposition came from a few teacher organizations who concentrated their fire not on zoning but on teacher transfers. It was the enthusiastic support of the integration program which forced the Board of Education to act, in spite of delaying tactics on the part of Superintendent Jansen and other officials.

National publications are taking up this question because the

struggle for school integration in the north has spread to other cities—Chicago, South Bend (Indiana), Los Angeles, Pasadena and closer to New York, suburban towns such as New Rochelle, Hempstead, Freeport, Amityville and Yonkers.

The racist attack from Queens groups demonstrate the strength of the forces opposing integration. The Inter-Group Committee, the Urban League, the parents groups—all the organizations which led the fight for the adoption of the integration proposals—must mobilize to meet this new attack.

## Women Workers

There are 22 million women in the U.S. work force today, according to a recently issued survey of the National Manpower Council. They make up one-third of the working population; 60% of them are married, and one-half are over 40. Women account for one-fourth of the total man-hours worked, but receive only one-fifth of the country's total wages and salaries. In 1890, women constituted only one-sixth of the nation's work force.

## Union Leader Stripped of Citizenship

A new blow was struck at the rights of naturalized citizens as well as at the rights of the union movement when the citizenship of James B. Matles was revoked by a federal judge, March 26. Matles is Director of Organization of the independent United Electrical Workers union. The reactionary decision was based on acceptance of the government charge that in taking his citizenship oath in 1934, Matles falsely swore that he did not teach or advocate overthrow of the U.S. government. The principal "evidence" introduced was the testimony of the notorious government stoop pigeon hireling, Joseph (Zack) Kornfeder. Matles was accused of having been a "communist functionary" and of having engaged in "political sabotage" as a union organizer. The latter was defined as leading "long strikes." The UE has announced that it will support Matles in appealing the verdict up to the Supreme Court if necessary.

# ... Dave Beck Hearings

(Continued from page 1)  
a federal "right-to-sue" law? These laws were passed on the same argument advanced by Ives that unions shouldn't "force" workers to join.

AFL-CIO president George Meany called an extraordinary session of the Executive Council for March 29 to consider—not how to combat this threat of anti-labor laws—but what to do with Dave Beck. Beck is a member of the top AFL-CIO Council. Meany was not ignorant of Beck's nefarious activities. But Meany prepares to act against Beck, not for his crimes against rank-and-file teamsters, but because Beck refused to Kow-tow to an anti-labor Senate Committee.

Proposed legislation to "control" the unions varies from laws that would open all union finances to the probing eyes of the Big Business government—a procedure that would cripple organizing drives and the financing of strike struggles—to laws that would end the union shop and open the door to scabbing.

Union officials meanwhile admit that the immediate effect of the "investigations" has been to cripple current organizing drives.

## Witch Hunters In Ohio Land Grab

By Moses Peterson

YOUNGSTOWN—The pattern of a giant land grab directly based on the witch hunt began to emerge here in March. Leffert Holz, Superintendent of Insurance of the State of New York, filed claims in Youngstown district courts against trustees of the United Cultural Association, seeking legal seizure of all land and buildings owned by the UCA. Holz bases his move on the claim that he has been empowered to seize and liquidate the assets of the International Workers Order and that the trustees of that organization locally are also trustees of the UCA. In this unprecedented action Holz is trying to broaden the scope of assets subject to seizure.

## DRIVE AGAINST IWO

The International Workers Order, a fraternal and group life and health insurance company, formerly with 162,000 policy holders, was placed on the first "subversive" list by former President Truman and Attorney General Tom Clark. This insurance company has been battered, its policy holders terrorized and its officers persecuted. People have been fired and even threatened with deportation for no other reason than holding an IWO life insurance policy. The Insurance Department of New York, in the original action against the IWO admitted the institution's assets

are in a very liquid condition, over 97% of such assets consisting of cash and government bonds. In 1949 the IWO held assets worth \$6,126,801.

The United Cultural Association, now the target of the would-be confiscators own a large residence that was turned into a clubhouse and meeting hall on the East Side of Youngstown as well as 14 acres of wooded park land. Prior to 1948 the park was a popular meeting ground for many of the city's large foreign-language groups. After a number of the trustees were fingered as "reds" by the Ohio Un-American Activities Committee, the Youngstown Vindicator, local daily, carried on a systematic campaign to cut off all connections between the Association and Youngstown workers. American Legion goon squads disrupted meetings and the police raided the hall in one instance, allegedly searching for Gus Hall, Communist Party leader who had jumped bail. Last November the Velde Committee held a witch hunt in Youngstown again striking hard at the UCA and some of its trustees. Now apparently, Holz considers the organization isolated enough to proceed with the property grab.

## Neighbors Rally To Phila. Couple

By Pearl Spangler

PHILADELPHIA, March 25—The entire community of Strawberry Mansion, a mixed neighborhood in Philadelphia, rallied to support Jacob and Eleanor Felsenstein when they were hauled



ELEANOR FELSENSTEIN



JACOB FELSENSTEIN

before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, headed by Eastland, for questioning about Communist Party associations.

Jacob Felsenstein, an artist, won a Good Citizenship Award from the City of Philadelphia for his work as a leader of the Strawberry Mansion Council of Block Organizations last September. His award for "devoted, dedicated and unselfish service, voluntarily performed" was in recognition of his contribution to the creation of an improved, harmonious and integrated neighborhood in one of Philadelphia's working-class districts.

Mr. and Mrs. Felsenstein both denied present Communist Party membership. They invoked their constitutional rights under the Fifth Amendment when questioned about past activities and associations.

In a statement published March 7, in the North Penn News, the neighbors of the Felsensteins said, "We the residents of Strawberry Mansion can readily give testimony to the democratic civic behavior of Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Felsenstein as leaders of our Strawberry Mansion Council of Block Organizations. . . . This is a non-profit, inter-racial organization with no political ties or affiliation. Our Council includes 45 block clubs and all our efforts are on a purely volunteer basis. "With the help of Mr. and Mrs. Felsenstein, we have campaigned for better living, more schools and recreational facilities," the resolution declared. After listing many of the accomplishments of the Council, the statement concludes with the succinct and pertinent comment—"We need more Felsensteins and less Eastlands."

## ECLC Meetings Prevented in L. I.

MARCH 25—The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee was twice prevented from meeting last week by three groups that took upon themselves the job of deciding who shall meet to discuss what subjects on Long Island. The three organizations that want to junk the right of free speech and free assembly were the Nassau American Legion, the Crusade for America and the Long Island Conservatives.

The ECLC scheduled its meeting at the Garden City Hotel for March 20 to discuss the introduction of religion into the public schools of Long Island. "Anonymous" pressure was put on the hotel to cancel the reservation and those who came to the meeting were directed to the Paraglide restaurant in Hempstead where a room had been hastily rented.

## TEMPORARY VICTORY

At the Paraglide, Clark Foreman for the ECLC began to address about 70 in the ballroom while a mob of Legionnaires and others milled about outside. Then the lights went out. The ECLC attempted to continue with its meeting in the dark. Suddenly a juke box began playing torch. No one could be heard. The attempt to meet had to be abandoned—at least for that night. The Legionnaire mob had its victory. Free speech and free assembly ceased to exist for one night on Long Island.

ECLC speakers who were present but could not be heard were Dr. J. Raymond Waisan, former professor of economics at Harvard and former CIO political research director and Dr. Charles Collins, a child psychiatrist.

Daniel Buckley, president of the Crusade for America, one of those opposed to free speech and free assembly, said, "It is a great day for the American Republic when a Communist-front organization is exposed for the evil it presents." Buckley's twisted mind couldn't explain precisely what "evil" was exposed. But the facts are clear. Suppression of free speech and free assembly is the evil exposed. Buckley's crew did the suppressing. When Clark Foreman challenged Buckley to a debate, needless to say, Buckley refused.

# THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXI

MONDAY, APRIL 1, 1957

NUMBER 13

# On the Civil Liberties Front

## SWARTHMORE HEARS SOBELL STORY

The Free Speech Forum of Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania organized a meeting of students, March 21, to hear Myra Tanner Weiss, militant staff writer, speak on the Sobell case. About 50 students heard her analyze the witch-hunt hysteria that gripped America in the period of the Korean war, a witch hunt that took the lives of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg on framed-up charges of "conspiracy to commit espionage" and that put Morton Sobell in Alcatraz prison where he has remained for seven years.

## WARTIME HYSTERIA

Mrs. Weiss began her analysis with a description of the hysteria that developed after Pearl Harbor against the Japanese-Americans. She described the lynch terror that was organized against Japanese-Americans in Southern California where she was working at the time in the fish canneries, an industry involving many Nisei. She described how the government, on an assumption of guilt, put the entire Japanese-American community into concentration camps. "After the war official apologies were made," she said. "And the property of Japanese-Americans that had been confiscated was returned. But the government could never return the lost years of concentration-camp existence to these victims of hysteria."

"The logic of the FBI then," Mrs. Weiss pointed out, "was that if an American were of Japanese descent that was enough to warrant internment. Similarly today in the anti-Communist hysteria, if one is accused of being a Communist, then anything goes."

Mrs. Weiss described the lack of evidence against Sobell, the way the prosecution kidnapped Sobell from Mexico in violation of all law and lied in court to the jury to win its conviction. Several students after the meeting told the speaker they had come with the intention of opposing the arguments for the defense of Morton Sobell. They were surprised when they heard facts they had never heard before and promised to make a thorough study of the case.

Ted Jacobs, Chairman of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, was present to distribute literature on the Sobell case. The students were urged to familiarize themselves with the Sobell case and explain the facts to other student and faculty organizations so that the truth could be known. "If you believe in justice," Mrs. Weiss said, "you must do all in your power to liberate Morton Sobell from prison."



Morton Sobell

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